262 143 527 which is not eaten, and rub their faces with it. But *no religious ceremony is performed.* It is the same for the *fuma*, a paste made with the contents of the kwakwa fruit, a kind of Strychnos very similar to the nsala, but of a different taste. The ceremony was even more simple than with the almonds ; the chief used to send a little of this paste to each village saying : "Let this be the first bite you swallow : the new year has come!" (Luman, ku tlhese nguba.) No powder was used in connexion with it. The magical drug was used, on the other hand, when the luma of pumpkin leaves took place.

II. *The luma of the Kafir corn.*

262 643 782 769 796 The great, the official luma, amongst the Ronga clans, is that performed for the Kafir corn (mabele). The great wife of the chief grinds the first grains of Kafir corn reaped in the fields. She cooks the flour in a pot and pours into it some of the royal powder kept in the calabash, so as to make a *shimhimbi* (See page 42). The chief takes a little of the food and offers it to the spirits of his ancestors, at the main entrance of the royal kraal. He prays to them in the following terms : "Here has the new year come! Precede us, you gods, and luma, so that, for us also, Kafir corn shall help our body, that we may become fat, not thin, that the witches may increase the corn, make it to be plentiful, so that, even if there is only a small field, big baskets may be filled! (Nguba hi yoleyi! Rangan ñwine, mi luma, ñwi Psikwembu! Na hine, mabele ma tjhama amirin yeru psinene, hi kuluka hi nga wondji. Abaloyi ba yandjisa, psi tala ngopfu, nambi shi shisi-ñwanyana shi shiñwe, a ku tale tingula!)"

262 643 796 534 609 After this religious ceremony everyone luma in turn, the chief first, then the sub-chiefs, then the counsellors, then the warriors who have killed enemies in battle, then the headmen of the kraals who have all been summoned to the capital. Should one of the headmen be prevented from coming by illness, his younger brother will not precede him. He will bring him the *shimhimbi* in a leaf ; the elder will take it, and, after him, the other brothers. Women do not eat the magic powder. Neither do strangers,

262 643 609 796 even those who are settled in the clan. They have their own medicine and luma for themselves, though they must not do it before the chief of the country.

III. *The luma of bukanye and the great national feast.*

137 273 1796 824 The most characteristic of all these ceremonies connected with the first fruits is the luma of bukanyi. Tobane has given me a circumstantial description of this feast and it deserves to be reproduced in all its details, as being a typical manifestation of Bantu national life.

The *nkanye* (1) is a large tree, one of the finest in the country. Its botanical name is Sclerocarya caffra (Sond); it is generally known amongst the English of Natal as the Kafir plum.

It bears fruit of the size of a greengage, which when ripe is a beautiful golden yellow and has a strong flavour of turpentine and a penetrating odour. It is a dioecian tree, the male bearing bunches of flowers while the female has single flowers. The Natives are quite aware of this; they cut down the male plants but take care to keep a few in each district to fecundate the female. The fruit — the kanye — begins to ripen in the month of January and falls to the ground. The odour is perceptible everywhere, and it is then that the principal men of the country approach the chief and say to him: "The time has come to luma."

In the luma of the bukanye it is easy to discover four consecutive ceremonies:

a) The luma of the gods and of the chief.

262 782 273 796 The first ripe makanye are gathered and pressed at the capital, and the sour liquor thus obtained is poured out on the tomb of the deceased chiefs in the sacred wood; they are invoked to bless this new year and the feast which is about to be celebrated.

(1) Nkanye, plural minkanye, is the tree in question. Kanye, plural makanye, is the fruit of this tree; bukanye is the drink made from this fruit. In the same way the wild apricot tree is called mphimbi, plural mimphimbi. The fruit himbi, plural mahimbi; the drink made from the fruit, buhimbi.

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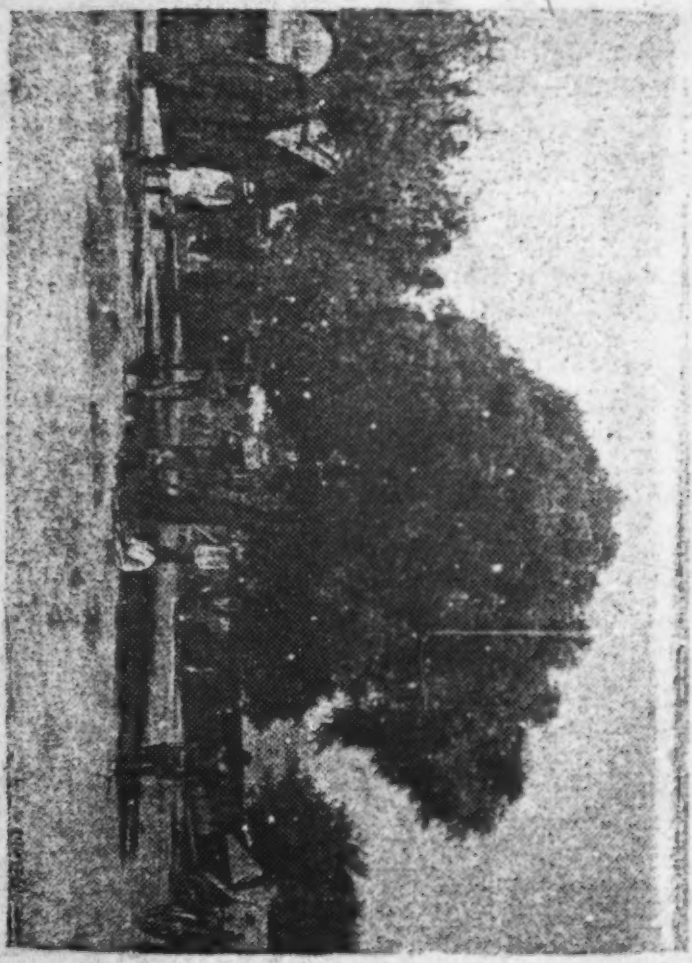
Nkolele, the sub-chief of Libombo, used on this occasion to pronounce the following prayer : "This is the new year. Let us



The "Nkuye" of Ribat, (16 miles North of Lourenço-Marques). Phot. P. Berthoud.

not kill each other! Let us eat peacefully! (Hi yo nguba! Hi nga dlayane! A hi nwenen ha hombe!)" Here is another

262 formula : "May this bukanyi do no harm! May we not slay each
782 other under its influence. May it cause no serious quarrels."
796 They are afraid that, during the general intoxication which will
273 shortly prevail, quarrels will arise, some of which may terminate fatally. During the whole month of bukanye drinking, all business is at a standstill, just as with us all bankruptcy proceedings and all prosecutions for debt are held in abeyance for two weeks during the New Year holidays!

The gods having luma first, the bones are consulted. Should the throw be propitious, the chief will luma next ; thus the opening ceremony of the feast is concluded.

b) The luma of the army.

796 The young people are now assembled to clean up the public
273 square and all the roads ; the ball room must be prepared! The women of the capital start out early in the morning, beating the *psibubutwana*, that is to say sounding the call that is produced by striking the lips (bu-bu-bu-bu), and they go all over the country gathering the golden fruit ; this is piled up in an enormous heap on the public square and the brew is proceeded with in the following manner. The makanye are pierced (tshunya) with a pointed wooden splinter ; the stone falls covered with a transparent white pulp into the jar ; into this jar is also squeezed out with the fingers all the juice which remains in the pulp adhering to the skin ; this is continued until the jar is half full, when the stones are taken out, and on the following day the pressing is resumed until the jar is full. On the third day the beer has sufficiently fermented to be pungent and agreeable to the taste and is ready for consumption. Empty barrels are easily procurable in the environs of Lourenço Marques. The women of the capital brew ten or fifteen huge casks of the precious liquor! This accomplished, the second ceremony begins.

796 A convocation of the entire male portion of the tribe is held in
273 the capital, but the first to respond to the call must be the men,
789 the warriors of the army, who come in full array, with all their
701 ornaments, and carrying their small play shields. One cask of

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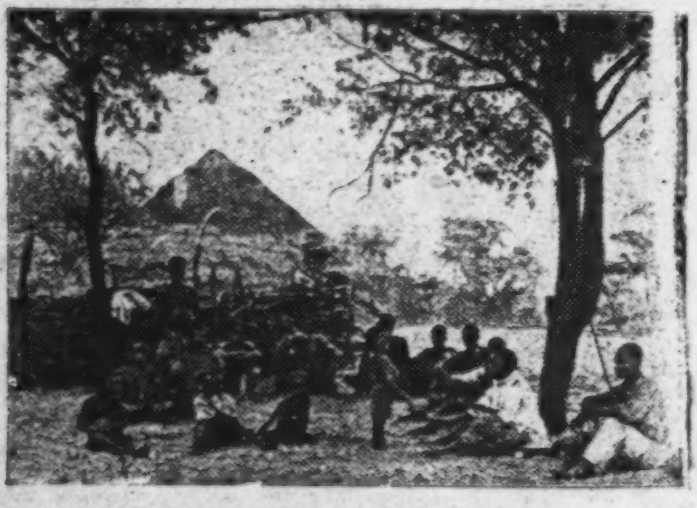
beer is selected, into which is thrown the black powder, the great medicine of the land, called in this case *buhlungu bya miluru*, the powder of the miluru. The nuru, plur. miluru, is the mysterious spiritual influence which a man or a beast killed by the assagais can exert on the slayer, making him lose his head and commit acts of folly, or, at least, have red eyes (shenga mahlo). We shall again meet with this curious conception when



Bukanye drinking near Antioka. (Portuguese East Africa.) *Phot. A. Burd.*

studying the rites of the army and of hunting. All those who are proudly conscious of having killed a man in war must first drink the new beer which has been medicated to keep them from killing any of their compatriots during the ensuing weeks of the bukanye. They approach one after the other, the chief also, if he be a man-slayer. Each of them receives a small calabash, (ntcheko, p. 50) full of the fermented liquid. He jumps and runs in the direction of the entrance, drinks a mouthful, spits it out with *tsu* and says: "Father and mother! May I live! May I hold the calabash! Even to morrow! For ever!" People laugh. He is very happy! Others sing and dance the war dance:

796 "We drink the bukanye anew! Who would have thought that
273 we should drink again from this cup", viz., "that we should have
789 escaped all the dangers of war" (Hi nwa nkanyi lomu'mpsa! Afa
701 hi nga hlayi epsaku hi ta nwa ntcheko lo kambe).

After this, the casks are distributed to the other warriors, who drink to their hearts' content. The addition of the black powder is not absolutely necessary in their case. They can luma without it. Then the war circle is formed and the principal counsellors harangue the assembled warriors, giving them the following advice: "Drink in peace (ha hombe). Let no one spoil this bukanye by transfixing his brother with his assagai. Go and drink in your villages. Do not pick quarrels with strangers passing through the country, etc." The gathering then disperses.

c) The luma in the village.

796 The preparatory luma is accomplished. The *yila* has been
273 removed. Now comes the third act: the drinking in the villages.
786 The women who remained at home while the men-slayers went to luma at the bidding of the chief, have gathered large quantities of makanye. The tree is to be found extensively all over the country, as no female plant is ever cut down; there is one or more in every field, and every one possesses such a tree, as every one owns a field; when all the trees in the gardens have been stripped of fruit, the women pass to the trees growing in the bush far from the villages.

But here also everything must be done in right order of precedence; the petty chief of such a district must commence to luma in the presence of his subjects, and not until after he has done so can the people drink freely in the villages. From this moment, however, there is no further restriction. Drinking continues day and night, night and day! When the supply is finished in one village, they go to the next. These feasts are the saturnalia, the bacchanalia, the carnival of the tribe! During these weeks some individuals are in a continuous state of semi-intoxication. Orgies on all sides, songs and dances! The younger men run along the paths, with a more or less unsteady

796 gait, brandishing sticks with pieces of red cloth attached as
273 pennants. They are in search of full barrels! It must be said
786 that the inebriety produced by the bukanye is of a rather mild type, as this Native beer contains very little alcohol ; but the quantity absorbed is so enormous that it ends by going to their heads : this is more especially so with the bukanye brewed from a species of nkanye called *nunge*, which appears to be stronger and more intoxicating.

796 How far does sexual licence go during the bukanye ? Not to
273 the point of general promiscuity, as amongst the Ba-Pedi after the
833 circumcision school. However many cases of adultery occur.
786 Men and women forget the elementary rules of condvet. They attend to the wants of nature in the same places, which is taboo under ordinary circumstances : "Nau a wa ha tiyi,"—"the law is no longer in force."

796 Still, in the midst of all this carnival, the payment of the tax
273 must not be forgotten... This is the time to carry to the chief
643 the liquor which is flowing so freely on all sides, but of which
651 he claims the lion's share. Each petty chief sends his people to the capital with brimming jars. This is termed "lumisa hosi," supplying the chief with new wine. The women do not enter the capital at once, but go to one of the counsellors, who promptly abstracts a couple of jars for his own use. The chief returns one or two jars to the carriers, as they have come a long way and are doubtless thirsty ; the remainder will be kept to refresh the very numerous guests at the Court ; any coming from afar will spend the night and not return until the next day. I have seen a company of these women carrying baskets
539 full of makanye to Muzila. How graceful was the Indian file winding its way along the path and singing, amongst others, the following chorus : (See for further particulars *Chants et Contes des Ba-Ronga*, page 46.)

Chwe! Chwe! Hi laba shimungu — Leshi ka — Le tilwen !
Chwe! Chwe! Shimungu hi mani ? — Hi Mzila ! — Hi Mzila !
Hi! Hi! We seek the hawk ! — Who soars — In the sky!
Hi! Hi! Who is the hawk ? — It is Mzila ! — It is Mzila !

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539 There is quite a collection of these carriers' songs praising the chiefs. Mzila (or Muzila), whom we saw a short time back scaring sparrows, is here compared to the mythical lightning bird, to the hawk that swoops down from the clouds. (See Part VI.) Why does he not once for all annihilate the sparrows which pillage his fields of sorghum ? But this is poetry! and there is often a wide gap between poetry and reality!

d) The feasting of the chief in the villages.

796 273 643 The fourth and final act of the bukanye feasting in which, as we have seen, the chief plays a prominent part, is the *nsungi* which may be called the "fin de saison" orgy. The chief now returns the visits of his subjects and casks of beer are prepared for him in every village. Dancing and singing are in full swing. He is fêted and acclaimed! But the makanye are getting over-ripe ; a new month, a new moon is at hand, which is called *sibandlela* "she who closes the roads ;" the paths leading to the foot of the trees become almost impassable, owing to the grass which grows to an incredible height during the rains prevailing at this season. The fine weather is over. Winter is knocking at the door.

796 789 643 262 821 Amongst the Nkunas the luma ceremony called "to eat the new year" (dyaka ñwaka) is performed with a special pumpkin (kwembe) cooked at the capital together with the medicine used for rain-making. The chief first eats of it in the evening and makes the sign of a cross on the big drum, which is then beaten to call the people in his village. Then all the men come, bringing the little horns in which they keep the rain medicine (See Part VI). They eat a little and smear the rim of these horns with the medicine ; the horns also must "eat the new year." Then everybody can enjoy the products of the harvest. Should anyone precede the chief, this would be fatal to the latter or make him ill... Such is the testimony of Mankhelu. I suspect these rites to have been influenced by the proximity of the Ba-Pedi. "Now we have no longer any first fruits' feast (mulumo)," says Mankhelu with some melancholy. "White people have killed it. Everybody

262 eats freely in his house according to his good pleasure. Formerly
821 we used to take the oxen of the man who had dared to steal the
796 new year."

Conclusion on the luma rite.

796 All these luma rites[1] of first fruits seem to have primarily a *religious*
782 *origin*. The Bantus do not feel that they dare enjoy the products of
554 the soil unless they have first given a portion of them to their gods.
Is it not these gods who make the cereals grow? Have they not the power even of controlling the wizards who bewitch the fields? These rites are also evidently dictated by the *sense of hierarchy*. A subject must not precede his chief nor a younger brother the elder in the use of the new harvest, else they would kill those in authority. Such an act is against order. We shall see that, even when the seeds are sown, the elders must take precedence. But the custom seems also to have been actuated by the idea of *passage*. There is a passage from one year to another. For the Thongas, I think the new year begins
805 twice every year: it begins when tilling recommences, in July, August,
796 when the heat returns. This is the hlobo. It begins a second time at
789 harvest, and then there is passage from the food of the last year to the food of this year. This is the nguba (Ro.) or ñwaka (Dj.). Though the luma rites do not bear all the characteristics of a true passage rite, like those of circumcision or moving, we may observe in the luma of bukanye a kind of marginal period of general licence, when the ordinary laws are more or less suspended. The taking of a first mouthful probably signifies the aggregation to the new period, the magical powder used on this occasion being a protective measure to shield them from the calamities of this unknown year... And after all, is it not that feeling of fear which so easily takes possession of the heart of man when entering on a new state and starting something fresh, which has led the savage to surround the use of the first fruit with so many ritual precautions?

IV. *Taxation.*

643 The chief governs (fuma). *Fuma* means to command, but also to live in plenty, to be rich. The subject (nandja, follower) obeys; he follows the chief who marches before him just as the

1 [see pp. 394-404 in these categories c. in 116-Analyst]

782 their protection : "May the harvest be plentiful ; may the cattle multiply ; may all our wives become pregnant." He uses by preference negative expressions : "Be not angry against us ; may the cows not slip their calves ; may our wives have no miscarriages, etc." In the meantime the people continue the same clapping of hands (called ku diya or ku losa gupsi, gupsi expressing exactly the hollow sound produced by the curved hands).

Notwithstanding this ritual clapping of hands, not much respect is shown by those present. They chat and joke whilst the chief of the clan is praying. A little tobacco has been spread as a libation on the graves and all help themselves to it. The influence of European ideas can be noticed ; a man cries : "Take off your hats!" and most of the men obey, showing that they are conscious that this is a religious ceremony worthy of respect.

As soon as the ceremony is over, they begin to dance. Immediately the clapping changes. It is now done with the hands held flat. It is chiefly the women, especially the old ones, who dance. Gabaze, the principal wife of the Nkuna chief Muhlaba, who is a Makaringe, the sister of Mugwaleni, makes herself conspicuous by her contortions. These are the ordinary dances.

They eat the roasted meat ; they drink the beer brought by the women. The portions offered to the manes are eaten as well as the rest, and I did not observe that they were reserved to special persons. The skin of the victim is cut into small strips which the men tie round the right wrist, the women round the left."

b) *National Offerings.*

782 These are those offered at the capital, to the ancestors of the
769 chief, but on behalf of the whole clan, because the gods of the
796 reigning family have control over the clan, just as the chief has
554 over the families of his subjects.

The regular national offering is the *luma* of the first fruits, their consecration, which I have described at length as one of the principal manifestations of the National life (I. p. 396-406). The Bantu conception of hierarchy is clearly illustrated by this custom : the gods must be the first to enjoy the produce of the new year, then the chief, the sub-chiefs, the counsellors, the

782 headmen, then the younger brothers in order of age. There
769 is a stringent taboo directed against the person who precedes
796 his superiors in the enjoyment of the first fruits, this law being
564 applicable to Kafir corn or bukanye in certain clans, and also to sorghum, pumpkin leaves and beer, etc., in others (1).

834 The sexual taboo is also enforced. Those who contravene this
782 law are said to "destroy the efficacity of the offering, nyumbisa mhamba." At the Ngoni Court, where sexual excesses were prevalent (see I. Annotatio 14) it is said that the chiefs used to remain continent for a fortnight at the time of luma. The reason of this taboo is probably the fact that the luma signifies the entering upon a new year, a new season, and is thus a rite of passage.

782 The religious meaning of the rite is clear : the gods, if deprived of the right they possess by virtue of their hierarchical position, would avenge themselves by threatening the harvest ; so they must be given their share first.

In the Maluleke clan, in which the customs seem to have been influenced by the Ba-Nyai, there is also a regular offering at the capital, when *the crops are still growing*. Rangane describes it as follows : "When the chief sees that the Kafir corn is threatened by the vermin in the fields, he says : "Perhaps the masters of the country (i. e. my ancestors who are dead) are angry ; perhaps I have not worshipped them fittingly." He summons the sons of the royal family (mangalakana) from all parts of the country, prepares beer, and selects a goat for the sacrifice ; they assemble around the graves with the sons and the uterine nephews, where they worship, and then, after eating all that is to be eaten, they return."

The special national offerings are those in connection with rain. If the rain falls at the right season, the sacrifice will not be made ; but should it fail to do so, the whole ritual will be gone through. This sacrifice for rain, is, as has already been mentioned (p. 318) called *phokolo* amongst the Bilen clans, and is performed in the

(1) Amongst the Malulekes a *second luma* is necessary after harvest, when brewing the first beer. It seems that the sub-chiefs or even headmen, settled in districts far away from the capital, can obtain a special license to perform the luma ceremony on their own account, but they must first apply for this permission, and after having finished, they must forward the chief's share to him.